

ADDRESS,
RESOLUTIONS & PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ANTI-MONOPOLY STATE CONVENTION,

HELD AT

TRENTON, N. J., JAN. 22d, 1868,

TO OPPOSE

The Extension of the Monopoly Privileges

OF THE

Camden & Amboy Railroad Co.

And to Secure the Passage of a General
Railroad Law.

In a letter from President Johnson, expressing his views upon the subject of monopolies, he refers to parts of his Annual Message to first Session, 39th Congress, on pages 15 and 16, as follows :

“Our Government springs from and was made for the people—not the people for the Government. To them it owes allegiance; from them it must derive its courage, strength and wisdom. But, while the government is thus bound to defer to the people, from whom it derives its existence, it should, from the very consideration of its origin, be strong in its power of resistance to the establishment of inequalities. Monopolies, perpetuities, and class legislation are contrary to the genius of free government, and ought not to be allowed. Here, there is no room for favored classes or monopolies; the principle of our Government is that of equal laws and freedom of industry. Wherever monopoly attains a foothold, it is sure to be a source of danger, discord and trouble. We shall but fulfil our duties as legislators by according “equal and exact justice to all men,” special privileges to none. The Government is subordinate to the people; but as the agent and representative of the people, it must be held superior to monopolies, which, in themselves, ought never to be granted, and which, where they exist, must be subordinate and yield to the Government.

The Constitution confers on Congress the right to regulate commerce among the several States. It is of the first necessity, for the maintenance of the Union, that that commerce should be free and unobstructed. No State can be justified in any device to tax the transit of travel and commerce between States. The position of many States is such that, if they were allowed to take advantage of it for purposes of local revenue, the commerce between States might be injuriously burdened, or even virtually prohibited. It is best, while the country is still young, and while the tendency of dangerous monopolies of this kind is still feeble, to use the power of Congress so as to prevent any selfish impediment to the free circulation of men and merchandise. A tax on travel and merchandise, in their transit, constitutes one of the worst forms of monopoly, and the evil is increased if coupled with a denial of the choice of route. When the vast extent of our country is considered, it is plain that every obstacle to the free circulation of commerce between the States ought to be sternly guarded against by appropriate legislation, within the limits of the Constitution.”

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Proceedings of the Convention.

Pursuant to a call, issued by citizens representing most of the Counties in the State of New Jersey, to form an anti-Monopoly Organization, delegates representing all sections of the State met at Taylor's Hall in the City of Trenton, January 22, 1868.

The meeting was called to order by Rowland Johnson, of Essex. On motion, Dr. Thos. G. Chattle, of Monmouth, took the Chair, and Mr. G. W. Hancock, of Camden, was appointed Secretary.

The call for the meeting was then read, after which the Rev. Mr. Petrie, of Ocean, opened the proceedings with prayer. *

On motion, it was then resolved, that a Committee of seven be appointed on permanent organization, whereupon, the chair appointed the following:

S. B. NICHOLS, of Atlantic County,
JOHN A. MORFORD, of Monmouth,
ROBERT CAMPBELL, of Ocean,
WOOLMAN STOKES, of Monmouth,
WM. PARRY, of Burlington,
R. J. BYRNES, of Atlantic,
GEO. W. HANCOCK, of Camden.

On motion, it was also resolved, that a Committee of five be appointed to report an Address. The following named gentlemen were appointed by the chairman: S. B. Nichols, Robert Campbell, Rowland Johnson, F. B. Chetwood, John A. Morford.

On motion, it was resolved, that the chair appoint five gentlemen to prepare resolutions, and the following were appointed:

Dr. I. P. TRIMBLE, JOHN BUCKINGHAM,
JOHN TORREY, JR., WM. PARRY,
A. S. MEYRICK.

Mr. Potts, of Morris, was then introduced, and addressed the meeting.

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The Committee on Permanent Organization, returning, reported in favor of the following officers of the Convention, which was adopted, viz.:

For President, Dr. JAMES H. PATTERSON, of Shrewsbury, Monmouth Co.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENTS:

A. P. STANTON, Ocean County,	
WOOLMAN STOKES, Monmouth County,	
WM. PARRY, Burlington	"
R. J. BYRNES, Atlantic	"
JAMES A. YATES, Mercer	"
ROBERT M. HENING, Essex	"
J. M. HANNAH, Salem	"
ENOS W. RUNYON, Union	"
CHARLES WEHLE, Hudson	"
JOHN RUTHERFORD, Sussex	"
CHAS. B. MOORE, Somerset	"
E. A. STANSBURY, Passaic	"
JOSEPH C. POTTS, Morris	"
A. S. MEYRICK, Middlesex	"
DAVID S. BROWN, Camden	"
W. D. COOK, Cumberland	"

FOR SECRETARIES:

W. S. EATON, Monmouth County,	
H. L. BONSALE, Camden	"
Z. K. PANGBORN, Hudson County,	
B. C. POTTS, Morris	"
PATRICK CLARK, Union	"

A resolution was adopted, that all the officers elected, be considered *pledged* when taking their seats, to carry out the purposes contained in the call for this Convention.

Addresses were made by Rowland Johnson, of Essex, and Mr. Clark, of Union County.

After which meeting adjourned to 2 P.M.

GEO. W. HANCOCK, *Secretary.*

On re-assembling at 2 P.M., the meeting was presided over by the temporary chairman, Dr. Thos. G. Chattle, of Monmouth Co., while the Committee waiting upon Dr. J. H. Patterson, President elect were absent, the gentlemen elected Vice-Presidents and the Secretaries took their seats.

After which, the temporary chairman retiring, Dr. Jas. H. Patterson, of Shrewsbury, Monmouth Co., took the chair, thanking the Convention for the honor of being called to preside over their deliberations, and identifying himself with this movement, as one where the honor and good name of the State of New Jersey were most vitally concerned.

The Address and Resolutions were reported by Committee, read, and on motion, unanimously adopted.

Short addresses were made by Hon. John A. Morford and Francis Leonard, of Monmouth, in favor of the passage of a General Railroad Law, whereby the State should be opened to competition in Railways, and lower fares and freights prevail.

Dr. Isaac P. Trimble, of Essex, offered the following resolution, which on motion was adopted, viz. :

Resolved, that the recent attempt by certain monopoly managers to get possession of the Newark and New York Railroad, first by offers of enormous bribes to corrupt a majority of the directors, and then by fraud to procure a controlling amount of the stock, shows unmistakably that Camden and Amboy does not yet intend that railroads shall be made in any part of New Jersey, in opposition to their wishes.

Dr. Trimble spoke in connection with this resolution of the enormous amounts offered to bribe these gentlemen, prominent among whom was the President of the road, who was named as having refused \$100,000; also of \$66,000 being refused by one of the directors for a similar purpose.

Other gentlemen followed, Mr. Butterworth, of Trenton, making the following statement of exorbitant freight charges

of Camden and Amboy Railroad Company. He held in his hand a freight bill just paid to that Company, for freight on wool from Philadelphia to Trenton, and comparing with rates of freight from Chicago, the charges were seven times in excess.

Rowland Johnson stated, that the Camden and Amboy Company spent \$200,000 to elect the present legislature.

Remarks were made by Rev. Mr. Given, Chaplain, in the U. S. Navy; Major Z. K. Pangborn, of Hudson; Jas. M. Scovel, of Camden, and Major Geo. B. Halsted, of Essex.

Letters from Wm. Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley and others were read, sympathizing with the objects of the Convention.

The President of the Convention stated, that at the earliest practicable moment he would, in accordance with the resolution adopted, appoint State Executive Committee. Motion to print 10,000 copies of address and resolutions, was referred to said Executive Committee for their action.

John Torrey, Jr., of Ocean Co., offered resolutions with reference to the formation of the New Jersey Free Railroad Club, which on motion were referred to Executive Committee, with power.

The subject of establishing an organ for the dissemination of anti-monopoly views, was also referred to Executive Committee. The Convention was characterized throughout by the utmost enthusiasm, being a movement of the people for the protection of their own reserved and most sacred rights.

Adjourned subject to the call of the Executive Committee.

WM. S. EATON, *Secretary*.

TAYLOR'S HALL, TRENTON, }
JANUARY, 22, 1868. }

To the People of the State of New Jersey.

Fellow Citizens:

In the year 1830, your representatives in the legislature passed two laws: one incorporating the Camden and Amboy Railroad and Transportation Company, with a capital of a million and a half of dollars, and the other incorporating the Delaware and Raritan Canal Company, with a like amount of capital. These two at the time of their passage, were rival schemes. Neither of them had the approbation, standing alone, of the majority of the members of the Legislature, and they only became laws by a bargain entered into between their respective supporters by which the bills were log-rolled through both houses, and, as the record shows, were passed, one immediately following the other. The respective corporations, having been organized under these laws, became antagonistic to each other. The Canal Company striving to add railroad privileges to the powers it already possessed, and the Railroad Company with equal effort striving to prevent the bestowal of such powers. After repeated conflicts in the halls of the Legislature, their rivalry was brought to a termination in 1831 by the passage of what was called "the Marriage Act," whereby the two companies were consolidated into an organization known as "the Joint Companies," and their several interests made mutual. This consolidation of interest made them, by far, the most powerful corporate body in the State, and gave to them an influence from that hour which has proved, by all subsequent experience, to be irresistible. They signalized the development of this power by demanding and obtaining from the Legislature in the very next year, that derogatory and injurious grant known by the name of "*the Monopoly Privileges.*"

By this grant, for the paltry sum of one hundred thousand dollars, payable in the stock of the companies, accompanied with a guaranty that the transit duties reserved to the State and the dividends upon the stock thus donated should at no time be less than thirty thousand dollars (\$30,000), the Legislature conferred upon these companies the *exclusive right* to carry passengers and merchandise between the cities of New York and Philadelphia by railroad, and went so far as to declare that it should not be lawful at any time thereafter for the State herself to authorize any other railroad to compete in business with these companies without having first obtained their consent so to do.

Looking back at these grants through the light of more than thirty (30) years' experience, the transaction seems most marvellous. That the Legislature of a State lying between the great markets of the Western Continent, having a knowledge of the value of unrestricted transportation of all the products of her citizens to these markets, how entirely the value of every species of manufacture or merchandise within her borders must depend upon the rapidity, ease and cheapness of such transportation, should place the key of every man's prosperity in the hands of a soulless corporation, with almost unlimited power to tax him according to its own selfish dictates, is wonderful indeed. But it is still more wonderful that the representatives of a free and sovereign State should voluntarily consent to abdicate their own sovereignty in a matter of such vast importance to their entire constituencies, and place shackles upon the law-making power only to be removed by the consent of the corporate creature they had made. Yet such is the spectacle, and gazing upon it, we cannot doubt the truth of those traditions which have come down to us respecting the insidious means which were used to accomplish this end.

By the charter of the Camden and Amboy Railroad Com-

pany, the State reserved the right to purchase the works and all the equipment at the end of thirty (30) years from the completion of the road, at its appraised value, not to exceed cost ; and in the charter of the Canal Company, the right was reserved to purchase it at the expiration of fifty (50) years. Aside from these reservations, the two charters were perpetual and by the terms of the Monopoly Grant, it also would be perpetual unless the State should purchase.

In 1854, the sterling bonds of the Joint Companies, being about to mature, the companies desired to renew the loan. They were met by the bond-holders with the objection that in sixteen years the right of the State to purchase the road would mature, and a loan extending beyond that time might lead to undesirable entanglements. To meet this objection, the Joint Companies again applied to the Legislature, asking that the time at which the State might exercise the privilege of taking the railroad upon an appraisement should be extended until the year 1888, and fixed the same year as the time when the right to take the canal should mature. The business of the companies had, down to this date, proved immensely productive. Their regular annual dividends were *twelve per cent*. Their extra dividends averaged *four per cent.*, making some *sixteen per cent.*, with a business largely on the increase. It is plain to every intelligent mind, that such a road, if built without wasteful extravagance, must be worth more than double what it cost, and yet the State had the right to take it at simple cost. No man can doubt that the right to take the road, when it should mature in 1868, would be worth in the market at least *four million dollars* (\$4,000,000) more than cost. Yet we see these companies, in the plenitude of their power, extorting from the Legislature a postponement of this valuable right for twenty years, without one dollar of compensation or of equivalent of any kind. A right worth this vast sum is

boldly taken by this giant corporation from the people of New Jersey without consulting them, and applied exclusively to its own benefit. We venture to say that the legislation of no State in this Union presents a parallel to this.

In postponing the right of the State to purchase the works at cost until 1888, the Legislature, however, stipulated that the Monopoly Grant should be no further extended, and that it should expire by its own limitation on the 31st of December of this current year. Its existence is, therefore, now limited, not by years but by months. It will speedily pass away and be among the things which literally belong to the barbarous ages. As its existence draws to a close, it is important for the people of New Jersey to realize that with its termination will dawn a new era in the progress of the State.

The policy pursued by the monopoly during all the years of its existence has been one of eminent selfishness. It has regarded itself as the despot, and the people as its victims. It has foregone no opportunity to press heavily upon the growth and business of the State, when by so doing it could increase its own revenues. It first projected its line of road from Amboy to Bordentown through an almost barren waste of country, without a populous city or village upon its route, showing a total disregard for the wants of the larger communities. It refused to build a double track, although its way was literally clogged with freight, until the Congress of the United States held over it the rod of an air line. It has distorted the natural railroad system of the State by compelling the minor roads to become its tributaries. In its charges for travel and transportation it greatly exceeds the companies of any other State in the Union, whose roads are of equal cost and have equal facilities. Indeed its fares will average nearly one hundred per cent. higher than many of the best conducted roads in the country. It will readily be perceived that its impositions

upon the traveling and commercial public have been enormous. That under the protection of its monopoly feature, it has extracted millions of dollars from the community, which it never earned and to which, under enlightened legislation, it could never have been entitled. With these enormous gains, thus wrung from the pockets of the community, it has installed a system of bribery and corruption throughout the State, beginning in the halls of the Legislature and extending through courts, juries and the press to the very ballot boxes themselves. Thus it has made the people pay from their own pockets for the very poison which was sapping the foundation of the public health and destroying the vitality of the Government.

Its negative influence has been equally damaging with its positive acts. With steady purpose it has refused to allow any legislation which should give to one-half the State, and that the most productive half, a ready access to the markets of New York. West Jersey has a soil, a climate, and a body of fertilizing marls, adapted to easy tillage and capable of producing fruits and vegetables, to the value annually of millions of dollars. New York with her great wealth and her million of inhabitants demands those very products. Her health and comfort require them. She is ready to pay the largest price for all such commodities delivered to her in fresh condition. Here is the market and here is the supply, but the monopoly stands as a barrier between them. No fruits, no vegetables, no productions of the farmer of West Jersey must reach the craving market of New York unless by the roundabout process of the freight-clogged roads which Camden & Amboy has provided, and paying into its treasury at least double charges. Thousands of baskets of valuable fruit annually rot unable to reach a market in time; and while Philadelphia is glutted to overflow, New York is either fed with stale fruit or left with a very scanty supply. It is a fact that the farmers of Dela-

ware, Maryland, and even some parts of Virginia, have greater facilities for reaching New York with their fruits than have a large portion of the farmers of West Jersey.

The effect which this disastrous monopoly policy has had upon the population, business and real estate interests of West Jersey may be readily conceived. It has kept emigration from her territory. It has kept down the price of her lands. It has limited her productions and made her labor but half remunerative. Her villages have not grown like those of the eastern part of the State. Her manufactories are small in their development and limited in their operations. Instead of being the suburbs and garden of the metropolis, she is almost like a foreign country, distantly removed from the commerce and the market of the great city. It is safe to say that the value of her property to-day would have been twenty millions of dollars (\$20,000,000) greater than it is if the miserably selfish policy of Camden & Amboy had never existed; and the State at large but for that policy would to-day have had a population of a million.

We have adverted to these aspects of the case as introductory to the question as to what it is now our duty to do. We see what have been the evils arising out of this monopoly legislation. They are tremendous. But so long as that legislation was regarded as binding, there seemed to be no remedy. This evil now ceases by its own limitation. Sore as has been the trial the people have kept their faith. Although doubting the validity of the contract, they have not attempted to break it. They have patiently bided their time and it has now arrived. It is the object of this convention from which emanates this address to ask of our fellow citizens throughout the entire State, and irrespective of every political party, to unite with us in procuring the passage of a general railroad law. With such a law upon our statute book, the dormant

powers of the State will spring forth into activity. Let every county, every town, that has the business to support a railroad and the ability to build it, have one. Let every farmer have the readiest access to the best market. Give to every manufacturer increased facilities for obtaining his raw material and sending to market his products. Let the idle marl-beds of West Jersey be actively worked. Her hundreds of thousands of acres of idle lands be enriched. Emigrants will soon find them. Population and production will double and triple. Values will increase in proportion, until under this policy so productive a section as West Jersey will become the most prosperous community in the vicinity of New York.

Under the policy of a general railroad law, the people of every county of the State will be benefitted. Every Winter witnesses some forty or fifty applications to the Legislature for railroad charters. They succeed or fail, not so much according to their merits as to the log-rolling skill of their supporters. With a general law every railroad needed in the State could be built when wanted, and there is no part of our territory which would not be greatly benefitted thereby. We have only to look at the adjoining State of New York to see the advantages of such a law. Besides the numerous roads, rival in character, which extend from the Metropolis through the State, every city—we might almost say every village—has acquired, under the general law of that State, its railroad facilities. Instead of paying *four* cents per mile for travel, as in our State, under the monopoly system, under the general law system of the State of New York but *two* cents per mile is paid, and yet the stock of the Harlem, Hudson River and New York Central Roads are as favorite investments with the capitalist, who wishes to combine security with profit, as is that of the Camden and Amboy. In Pennsylvania the people are demanding a general railroad law. They are organizing

to resist the power of the overshadowing railroad corporation of that State—and they will succeed. Shall New Jersey be the only State which dares not legislate in the interest of the people? Shall we again sell our birthright for a mess of pottage?

There is no impediment to the passage of such a law, but the resistance which the monopoly will make to it. You will remember that they are a colossal power. That they unite under one influence the capital and the *personel* of the following corporations:—The Camden and Amboy Company, The Delaware and Raritan Canal Company, The West Jersey Railroad Company, The New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company, The Salem Railroad Company, The Camden and Mount Holly Railroad Company, The Burlington and Mount Holly Railroad Company, The Jamesburg and Freehold Railroad Company, The Belvidere Delaware Railroad Company, The Flemington Railroad Company, The Milville and Glasborough Railroad Company, The Rocky Hill Railroad Company, the Milville and Cape May Railroad Company, The Perth Amboy Railroad Company, The Sea Shore Railroad Company, The Camden Ferry Company, The Jersey City Ferry Company, The Hoboken Ferry Company, The Trenton Delaware Bridge Company, and The Trenton and New Brunswick Turnpike Company. Their confederate organizations wield a capital of forty million dollars (\$40,000,000). They have thousands of employees who are scattered through almost every county in the State; they have never failed to move with united purpose when seeking to accomplish an object. They never hesitate at the description of means to be used, and they consider themselves invincible in the lobbies of the Legislature. All their power will be exerted to prevent the passage of a general railroad law, because, by the passage of such a law, they well know they will be compelled to deal

fairly and justly by the community or witness the speedy creation of one or more rival roads.

Now, in the face of such an opposition, can we procure the passage of such a law? We answer, YES! Upon this question the people of New Jersey will divide according to their manhood and virtue on the one side, and the subservient, the corrupt and unprincipled on the other. It cannot be that a people as intelligent as Jersey men proverbially are, with such plain inducements set before them, and every principle of right to stimulate them, will neglect to combine in securing the passage of this measure. Let us constantly keep it before the people that their interest in this question is only to be measured by millions of dollars. That they have only to combine and manifest their power at the ballot box to secure the end. The monopoly will rely, in a large measure, as heretofore, upon corrupting the Legislature, when chosen, and inducing it to betray the public. Let us watch every attempt of this character, and woe to the man who is found a traitor. Let him be held up to the public scorn and indignation, shunned by the community and loathed by all who know him.

We say confidently then, fellow-citizens, that the attainment of this desirable end is entirely within your power. Carefully select pure and sterling men to represent you in the Legislature, or, if need be, to fill the Executive chair, you will soon have the law-making power ready to respond cheerfully to the public will.

But, should the monopoly baffle us in this, we can carry our cause to a higher tribunal, where the voice of the people will be surely heard, and where the gold of the monopoly will be despised. By the Constitution of the United States the power to regulate inter-state commerce has been exclusively conferred upon Congress. That body has exercised this power from the foundation of the Government by supervising the

navigation of the rivers within our boundary. More recently it has prescribed rules for the regulation of all trade upon the inland waters, carried on by means of vessels propelled by steam, and more recently still it has entered upon legislation, prescribing rules for that commerce when moved on land by means of steam power. No sound distinction can be drawn between the powers to regulate upon the land and upon the water. It is clear then that this power resides in Congress, and that the obstructions heretofore and at present placed by the Camden and Amboy, as barriers to inter-state commerce, are of sufficient national importance to call for Congressional action. They can charter an air-line road, and thus place Washington within five (5) hours of New York. They can declare the Raritan Bay and Camden and Atlantic Roads lawful structures and competent to transport through passengers and merchandise. They can authorize the Central Railroad of New Jersey to make a spur from Bound Brook to the Delaware River, and establish it as a post route. They can authorize military roads wherever, in their sound discretion, they are required. They can regulate the rates of travel, within reasonable limits, throughout the country. In a word, the power to regulate inter-state commerce is one of vast scope, equal to the overturning of all local monopolies and the deliverance of the people from the evils of the grasping selfishness of corporations. The granting of this power to Congress was one of the great necessities out of which arose the Federal Government. Under the old articles of Confederation, the disposition of the several States to vex each other with partial regulations touching their commercial intercourse, and the damaging effect of this disposition upon the trade, made it manifest to every patriotic mind that this power must be surrendered by the States to the Federal Government, if a harmonious union was to be obtained. It was so surrendered,

New Jersey being the first State to move in that direction, and it does not lie in the power of New Jersey now to resume that with which she has thus parted.

We are aware that a high Court in our State has placed itself in a doubtful position upon this question. In a case in which the monopoly was not interested, it decided by a unanimous voice that the State had *not* the power to burden interstate commerce passing across her territory. That the sole power to regulate that commerce was in Congress, and that any legislation on the part of the State, tending clearly to that end, was unconstitutional and void. And the same high Court, in a more recent decision, where the monopoly was *directly* interested, decided by a divided vote that the burdens imposed upon inter-state commerce by that legislation, which saddled upon it an enormous and unscrupulous monopoly, with power to tax it one hundred per cent. above legitimate charges, it paying a tithe of its plunder into the treasury of the State, were *entirely* constitutional and were in no way affected by the Constitution of the United States. And the same high tribunal, by an *obiter dictum* in the same case, *doubted* the power of Congress to afford to the people of this State and the commerce of the Union any relief whatever from these extortions. We do not agree with this latter decision of the Court. We know the influences which surround it. Its reasoning is not satisfactory ; and looking elsewhere for judicial light we find that the Courts of the United States, removed from all local influences, and viewing the question from a national point of view, have already uttered opinions diametrically the reverse of that held by the New Jersey Court. Judge Miller, of the Circuit Court of the United States for Iowa, in delivering the opinion of that Court in a hotly contested case, thus emphatically pronounces the law :

“ Another means of transportation equal in importance to

the steamboat has also come into existence since the constitution was adopted, a means by which merchandise is transported across the States and Kingdoms in the same vehicle in which it started. The railroad now shares with the steamboat the monopoly of the carrying trade. The one has with great benefit been subjected to the control of the salutary Congressional legislation because it is an instrument of commerce. Is there any reason why the other should not? However this question may be answered in regard to that commerce which is conducted wholly within the limits of a State, and is therefore neither foreign commerce nor commerce among the States, it seems to me that when these roads become parts of great highways of our Union, transporting a commerce which embraces many States, and destined, as some of these roads are, to become the channels through which the nations of Europe and Asia shall interchange their commodities, there can be no reason to doubt that to regulate them is to regulate commerce both with foreign nations and among the States, and that to refuse to do this is a refusal to discharge one of the most important duties of the Federal Government. As already intimated the shackles with which the different States fettered commerce in their selfish efforts to benefit themselves at the expense of their confederates, was one of the main causes which led to the formation of our present Constitution. The wonderful growth of that commerce since it has been placed exclusively under the control of the Federal Government, has justified the wisdom of our fathers. But are we to remit the most valuable part of that commerce again to the control of the States, and to all the consequent vexations and burdens which the States may impose, through whose territories it must be carried on? And must all this be permitted because the carrying is done by a method not thought of when the Constitution was framed?

“For myself I must say that I have *no doubt* of the right of Congress to prescribe all needful and proper regulations for the conduct of this immense traffic over any railroad which has voluntarily become part of one of those lines of inter-state communication, *or to authorize the creation of such roads where the purposes of inter-state transportation of persons and property justify or require it.*”

We believe this to be the supreme law of the land, and failing in our efforts to obtain redress by State legislation, we shall invoke the aid of Congress, and never cease our efforts until we are heard.

People of New Jersey! We earnestly appeal to you to unite as one man in this great cause. Throw aside all petty differences which may prevent your united action. In this question is involved the sovereignty of the people in New Jersey. Shall we rule, or shall a corporation rule us? Shall New Jersey be the only State that perpetuates bondage? If we succeed in this we become the masters of our own destinies. Our halls of Legislature will regain their ancient purity. Our Courts will utter independent opinions, based upon undoubted law, without fear of accountability to a malign power. We open to every citizen the best market on the continent. We take from his shoulders a burden of taxation. We double and triple the value of his lands, and secure to him and to his children prosperity and the blessings of freedom forever.

Resolved. That we hail with joy the opening of the year during which the *monopoly* compact between the State and the *joint companies* expires by its own limitation; and we join with every patriotic Jerseyman in congratulations that the years of our oppression are nearly passed, and the day of our deliverance is at hand.

Resolved, That while the people of the State have kept their plighted faith, contracted in an evil hour with the monopoly,

for more than thirty years, that corporation in return has oppressed the whole business community by its exorbitant charges and inadequate appliances; has grossly and habitually intermeddled in politics; has tampered with juries, biassed the courts and corrupted the legislature, until, throughout the length and breadth of the Union, injustice and wrong are synonymous with that of "*the State of Camden and Amboy.*"

Resolved, That in a mere pecuniary point of view it can readily be proved, that by her disastrous bargain with Camden and Amboy, the State has lost hundreds of thousands of dollars of revenue and tens of millions of dollars in values by the impossibility for property to appreciate as it would have done under a *free railroad* system.

Resolved, That with the proximity of New Jersey to New York city, the great central point of emigration, it is plain that one million acres of uncultivated lands now lying waste within our borders would be speedily settled by an industrious and thrifty population and made productive to the amount of millions of dollars annually, were the barriers interposed by the monopoly removed, and the blessings of a General Railroad Law secured to us.

Resolved, That we hear with alarm and contempt the givings-out of the creatures of the monopoly that, although its legal character is about to expire, it can and will hold the same exclusive privileges by so controlling the elections and the legislature with its *money* as to forever prevent the passage of any law authorizing the creation of any rival road across the State, and we call upon all Jersey men, of every *political party*, to rally as one man against this common enemy. Tho right to make or to forbid the making of laws for ourselves and our children has never been conferred upon Camden and Amboy, and they must no longer exercise it.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathise with the people of the

counties of Monmouth, Ocean, Atlantic, Camden and parts of Burlington, Salem and Cape May for the great wrong done them, in the recent outrage committed in the name and by the means of the monopoly upon them, by which their property is depressed in value, their labor rendered unproductive, their perishable produce left to rot without a market and their section of the State, for which nature has done so much, thrown back at least a quarter of a century in the race of progress and prosperity; and we counsel them, laying aside all differences, to unite as one man to vindicate their rights at the ballot-box, assured that such a union will lead to victory.

Resolved, That we hold *railroads* to be the main channels of inter-state commerce, and that the power to regulate that commerce, has been, by the States, conferred exclusively upon the *Federal Government*, so that no State can constitutionally impose any tax or other burden, whether directly by its officers, or indirectly, but more oppressively by a corporate monopoly, upon the free transit of passengers and merchandise across such State, by any existing mode of conveyance whatever, and that all legislation tending to forbid other *railroads* from carrying between Philadelphia and New York, or compelling the exclusive use of the Camden and Amboy roads is unconstitutional and void.

Resolved, That we call upon the Congress of the United States most earnestly to exercise the power to regulate inter-state commerce by railroads, as conferred upon them by the Constitution, so that the burdens, inequalities, vexations, hindrances, injustice and extortions which now exist may be removed.

Resolved, That we cordially agree with the high Court of Errors of our State in their learned decision in the Erie case, that the taxation of transportation across the State "must of necessity be a regulation of commerce within the prohibitory

clause of the Constitution ;”—that for a State to exercise its law-making prerogative, “either so far as to burden such transportation, or to prevent it altogether, is a regulation of commerce which falls under the prohibition of the Constitution of the United States ;” and that we as cordially and entirely disagree with the same High Court of Errors in their very labored, but very illogical and transparently partial opinion in the recent Camden and Amboy case, “that it would be difficult to find any legal impediment within the power of other States, or of the United States, which could be interposed so as to prevent this State, in the exercise of her pleasure, from closing up or prohibiting the use of any highway within her domain.”

Resolved, That in all matters respecting the regulation of inter-state commerce, the transit of passengers and goods from one State to another, the transit of troops and munitions of war, and the transit of the United States mails, the legislation of Congress is *supreme*, the laws of any State, or the decision of any State Courts, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Resolved, That now that state faith *cannot* be allowed to stand in the way, we ask of our representatives in the legislature the passage of a liberal *General Railroad Law*, under which every section of the State can have whatever railroads their people wish to build, every farmer and manufacturer can choose his own market, every land-owner can make his lands saleable, a system which will speedily double the production of the State, and largely increase her wealth and population.

Resolved, That we this day proceed to organize a *general railroad* or *anti-monopoly party*, whose platform shall consist of two planks, to *advocate the passage of a general railroad law*, and to *oppose the granting or continuing of any exclusive privileges or immunities to any corporation within the*

limits or jurisdiction of New Jersey; and upon this line, in the language of the greatest general of the age, "we will fight it out," until success shall attend our united efforts at the ballot boxes.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the officers thereof, and that the secretary cause copies to be presented to the Governor, and to each of the members of the State Senate and General Assembly, and that he send copies also to each of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this State, with the request that they lay the same before the respective bodies of which they are members.

Resolved, That the chairman appoint a State Executive Committee, of three (3) from each Congressional District in the State and five (5) from the County of Essex, of whom shall constitute a quorum, who shall hold their first meeting at the call of their chairman, in the City of Newark, and meet thereafter upon their own adjournment, whose business it shall be to devise and build up an organization, irrespective of the now existing political parties, and who shall be further charged with the duty of calling a *State Convention* of all the friends and supporters of a *General Railroad Law*, to assemble at some time after the adjournment of the present Legislature, to consider and determine what nominations shall be made and what steps taken to secure our success in the ensuing State elections.

Resolved, That the committee be instructed to have prepared forthwith, and laid before the Legislature for their action, a liberal general railroad law, and upon the presentation of such bill to the Legislature, that they have copies of it printed and sent to the friends of the measure in every county in the State with a request that they call public meetings and invite

the people to instruct their Senators and Representatives to vote for the measure.

Resolved, That memorials to the Legislature, praying for the passage of a general railroad law, be circulated by the executive committee throughout the State for the signatures of such as are friendly to the measure.

To the People of the State of New Jersey :

The following is a form of Memorial to the Legislature, praying for the passage of a General Railroad Law. Copy this form upon a sheet of paper, get all the signatures you can, and then send it to one of the members in the Legislature representing your county, to be presented to that body. The people are going into this movement as a Committee of the Whole :

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey :

The undersigned, citizens of the County of..... in the State of New Jersey, respectfully request the passage of a General Railroad Law for the said State, similar to such general law in existence in other States, by which the people will be enabled to build railroads for their benefit in every section of the State where they may need or desire them.